526 The pole and stick game (aiki'w:č) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai'wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole'w:č) [184] was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telwey:t and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two [765] men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a'nal (she gave aiki'w:č as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai''iwan) or another straight willow (sala''am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota''al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai'yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno'lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
● 221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

30 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread
[171] than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´l·ts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (ṭowi´n·ts; from ṭowo´´o, yellow
[262] tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ins) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he
[237] sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu ṭuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52]J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53]Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal 1829

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena''wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena''. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's:ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight [354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w:l ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yawelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[339] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humta´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Nuṭo´ñi[340] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[341]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186
837]

[339] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[340] Consistently pronounced nutsu´ñi by J.B.

[341] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

[EP. 57a] Wukchumni

221
166
621
[888] the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

[131] J.B.'s family went with a group of other families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

342 There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
592 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
621 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife No´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pino (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Camčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It:mwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´i:n[342] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Cawu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[342] Consistently pronounced Be´siyus by J.B.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [413] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[88]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[88] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type [222 was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the [137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 c] Western Mono N525

Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

Y W 361 ● 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be [854] carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B. [illegible] the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19), thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinǝtsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwe´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tǎveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

W Y 821 782 [P. 2296] Western Mono N525

An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai ´yu ´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W Y 805 221 The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W Y 805 821 192 552 B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
- tapewa´no: daytime
- ha´nos: before sunrise
- motve´sihop: sunrise
- tukita´wena: noon
- motara´tahikup: sunset
- ure´´unus: after sundown
- totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
- tara´ue: sun
- ta´ow": moon
- nasu´mi te´gi´up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
- tapu´ha: morning star
- so´šso´š: Pleiades
- te´gi´up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
- na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
- tuo´pade: sky
- to·´uare: clouds
- u·´´uare: rain
- paho´nop: hail
- nu´babi: snow
- pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
- pasi´wap: sand
- patigui´noba: mud
- t:p: granite
- pahe´: soapstone

Y W 823 192 Directions:
- pite´kimat: south
- quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

[101]

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and ● 221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, be recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitel, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
oichat, uichao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
paisel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
to, tupe	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsel	hoeche.
tuoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-tikin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometzisai, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoechiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yaudchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

262 Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

222 The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
262 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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763
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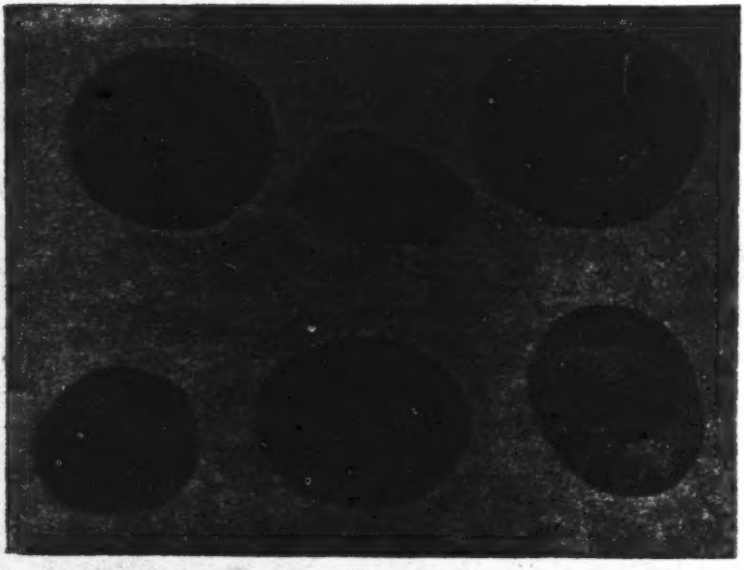

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

● 221 342 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses.

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages.

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house.

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town.

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women.

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y 551 775

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

W 551

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

Y 551 [227]

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Y 224 551

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[10] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150)..

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luní·ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō·'o ka·maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tulare* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 ●231 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematizations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations. 182 221

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